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Table of Content

Introduction……1
Conceptual Framework…….….2
Elements of State-building……10
Theoretical Framework…….16
Review of Related Literature……18
Significance of the Study……..……25
Statement of the Problem…….……...…26
Justification of the Study……...28
Objectives of the Study……..29
Research Questions……29
Research Hypothesis……..30
Research Methodology……..30
Scope of the Study…….…….31
Limitations of the Study…….31
Research Gaps…….....32
The Chapterzation of Thesis……...33
Findings of the study……..34
Conclusion ……...37
Bibliography……...…40

1.1. Introduction

State-building refers to the political process of reconstruction and creation of new institutions and sustainable development of states, from the earliest creation of statehood up to the current times. Since the earlier stage, state-building has become an integral part of the international community. State-building entered the political literature as a process of building and setting right the powerful and accountable government institutions during the Cold War, especially in the 1970s.

This chapter addresses the concept of state and then focuses on State-building in general and the State-building process in Afghanistan in particular. Studies have shown that Afghanistan has experienced different types of failed states throughout its historical state-building process. Still, the internal, regional, and international factors had a negative impact on State-building. However, this research work is important to understand the concept, meaning, and theory of state-building. The problem of fragile states worldwide and the September 11 attack made the state-building process more obvious. It must be noted that poverty is not the immediate cause of terrorism; those who organised the attack on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon are people who essentially belonged to the lower class. These classes received training from Western countries. State-building has recently become a major concern of The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and all the affected nations.

Moreover, our theoretical and empirical knowledge is still slightly limited as to which methods and instruments work and which do not. The growing stock of research and evaluation studies in essence should provide the needed information and data, and donors should learn from past experiences to improve the effectiveness of their interventions in the future. The third world countries weakness and failure are partly due to the intervention of powerful countries and colonisation; incidentally, Afghanistan is a part of them.[1]

The concept of state-building has become an interesting subject in post-war countries, including Afghanistan. The process of creating a modern state has a long history in the context of Afghanistan. In 1747, the contemporary history of Afghanistan was created by Ahmad Shah Abdali. Unfortunately, civil wars have devastated the infrastructure and social capital of Afghanistan and many reasons are mainly responsible for the failure of the state in Afghanistan.

[1]Richard, Woodward. (2009). *The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)*. Routledge. Global monitor. *New Political Economy*, *9*(1), pp. 113-127.

Furthermore, new state-building process began based on the Bonn agreement. Many state institutions have been installed through foreign assistance, including Loia Jirga (Parliament), drafting of the constitution, presidency, judiciary, central bank, civil service, armed forces, police, educational institutions, humanitarian assistance agencies, hospitals, Central Poppy Eradication Force (CPEF), Counter-Narcotics Directorate (CND), Provincial Councils (PC), Provincial Governor's Offices (PGO), District Governments, Afghanistan (DGA) Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC), Communication and Agriculture Department, etc. The lack of a strong state is the main cause of socio-economic, political, and security challenges in Afghanistan and other undeveloped countries in the world as well.

State-building in all countries worldwide, especially in Afghanistan, is a long and complex process with different dimensions. However, it is necessary to define and explain the concepts and determine the purpose of the research. An attempt has been made to describe the indicators of the state, the historical course of the state and its concept, and the phenomenon of state-building in this study.

1.2. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of this section consists of key concepts such as state, Nation, state-building, nation-building, and nation-state-building, as well as the concepts of government and governance.

1.2.1. Concept of State

The state's history, nature, and creation began in ancient Greece. Plato and Aristotle were the first to describe the polis, or city-state, as an ideal form of organisation in which society's religious, cultural, political, and economic requirements could be met. Aristotle saw this city-state, characterised chiefly by its self-sufficiency, as a means of establishing virtue in the human character. The Greek definition is more closely related to the current concept of the Nation, a population occupying a specific region that shares a common language, culture, and history. The Romans, on the other hand, had a different idea of the state, which was close to the current definition of the state. Scholars have different comments on the concept of the State; Hartmann points out that a legal concept of the state delineates a territory within which the State institutions system has jurisdiction, namely the monopoly of the use of legitimate violence. One may also consider the state an organisation within the society where it co-exists and interacts with others, such as formal and informal organisations, from associations to

families, economic companies, or religious institutions.[2] However, it is distinguished from the myriad of other organisations in seeking predomination over them and aiming to institute binding rules regarding the different activities of organisations.[3]

The state has also been conceptualised as the most comprehensive organisation with formal institutions for regulating the most significant external relationships concerning the scope of the state. It is the fundamental political unit, a grouping of individuals who are organised in a defined territory for the pursuit of the welfare of citizens, the maintenance of law and order, and the carrying out of external relations with different groups similarly organised.[4] He also mentioned that a state is an organisation created by the government and administrative organs. It has a constitution, a code of laws, and a way of setting up its government for citizens.

M.R. MacIver (2013) rightly argues that a "state is an organisation or association which is created and acting through according to the law to bring the social order and social welfare in the territory and to this end with coercive power maintains within community territorially demarcated the universal external conditions".[5]

Ernest Barker mentions that a "state is a legal association which acts under the ultimate sovereign constitution." But he adds that the state is not only an agent of law but a moral institution whose purpose is to create conditions where a man can realise his moral self."

Harold, J. Laski (1967) states, that: "A state is a territorial society divided into government and subjects that claim dominance over all institutions within its designated geographical regions". However, he also mentions that the state is the final legal depository of social will. It sets the perspective of all other organisations. It brings within its power all forms of human activities, the control it deems desirable.[6]

Moreover, from Max, Weber's. (1991) perspective, the "state is a political institution that maintains a monopoly for the legitimate use of force within a certain territory. Weber shows that human society successfully claims the domination of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory."[7]

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[2] Jeannette, Hartman. (1994). ''The State in Tanzania'' in Ulf Himmelstrand et al eds., African Perspectives on Development. London: James Currey Ltd. p. 219.

[3] Michael, Bratton. (1989). ''Beyond the State: Civil Society and Associational Life in Africa'' in World Politics, Vol. 6, No. 3, April.

[4] Remi, Anifowose (1999). ''State, Society and Nation'' in Remi Anifowose and Francis C. Enemuo eds.; Elements of Politics. Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications. p. 86.

[5] Robert, Morrison, MacIver. (2013). *The Modern State*. Read Books, New York, United States Publisher, University of the Pacific.

[6] Harold J, Laski. (1967). A Grammar of Politics, 5th edition. London: George Allen and Unwin Press.

[7] Max, Weber. (1991). From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Psychology Press. p.78.

In addition, Charles Tilly (1990) defines states as "organisations that are distinct from households and kinship groups and exercise a clear priority in some respects over all other organisations within substantial territories."[8]

1.2.2. Concept of Nation

The word "nation" has its roots in the history of ancient Greece and entered political knowledge as a modern concept in the Renaissance era. Nation in Latin Natio and Nascere means birth. The Nation is expressed with different definitions. Scientists define the Nation based on cultural commonality; some say the Nation is a common region and country. Therefore, a nation is a group of people who have a sense of common identity and share a territorial region. Because one Nation differs from another in terms of history, language, culture, belief, and other ways of life, it is simple to divide individuals into separate nations. A nation is conceptually equivalent to an ethnic group; the terms are frequently used interchangeably.

From a historical point of view, the history of nation-building dates to the contemporary history of Europe, especially after the French Revolution. However, its growth was noticed in the years after World War II, in the Third World, and post-conflict countries. In the post-Cold War era, new experiences in nation-building were evident from the crises in the Balkans in the 1990s. These experiences in Afghanistan and Iraq were external factors in nation-state building. Of course, the background of this type of nation-building can be traced back to Germany and Japan after the end of World War II.

Anthony D. Smith (1991) defined the Nation as "The nation consists of a human population sharing a historic territory, common historical memories, and common myths, a mass public culture, a common economy, common relations, and common legal rights and duties for all members of the community".[9]

Connor Walker (1972), for instance, defines a nation as a "self-differentiating ethnic group.' Ethnic groups are people in a society who believe they have a common fate and interests. They propound a cultural symbolism expressing their coherence".[10]

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[8] Charles, Tilly. (1990). Coercion, Capital, and the European States, AD 990–1992. Blackwell. pp. 1-2

[9] Anthony, Smith, D. (1991). National identity and the idea of European unity. *International affairs*, *68*(1), p.14.

[10] Walker, Connor. (1972). Nation-Building or nation-destroying? *Journal of World Politics*, 24(3), p.337. https://doi.org/10. 2307/2009753

United Nations defines a Nation as "a large group of people having a common origin, language, and tradition constituting a political entity. When a nation coincides with a state, the term nation-state is often used."[11]

A sample definition of Nation: "A nation is a group of people who live in a recognised political territory, have a common historical memory of at least a century, have common economic and security interests, and are eager to live together in the future. Based on this perception, the characteristics of the same colour, race, language, and culture are excluded."

A nation is a huge social organisation whereby a collective identity has emerged due to a combination of shared characteristics among a given population, such as language, history, ethnicity, culture, territory, or society.

The concepts of Nation and state indicate that they mean distinct phenomena. The primary distinction is that a nation does not have a monopoly on the legitimate use of force, nor does it have public institutions. On the other hand, the state is built on citizenship, implying rights and duties, including some allegiance but not always a strong emotional attachment, language, religion, or set of values in a society.[12]

1.2.3. Nation-State

Nation-states' origins and early history are debated. Furthermore, a key theoretical question is, "Which comes first, the nation or the state?" Scholars such as Steven, Weber, Woodward, David, Michel Foucault, and Jeremy Black believe that the nation-state was unintentionally created by the fifteenth-century intellectual discoveries in political economy, capitalism, geopolitics, and geography, combined with cartography and advances in map-making technologies. The nation-state evolved because of these intellectual discoveries and technological developments. Others believe that the country came first, then nationalist movements for sovereignty occurred, and the nation-state was founded to suit that need. Some nationalism "modernisation theories" regard it because government policies unify and modernise an existing state. Moreover, according to most conceptions, the nation-state emerged in nineteenth-century Europe, aided by advances such as state-mandated education, mass literacy, and mass communication. On the other hand, historians point to the early establishment of a reasonably cohesive state and identity in Portugal and the Dutch Republic.

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[11] United Nations, (Nation Definition) n. (14c) 1 New York, United States, visit the website on 25.10.2023. https://www.un.org/en/about-us

[12] Linz, Juan. J. (1993). State-building and nation-building. European Review, 1(4), pp. 355-369. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1062798700000776

Rohollah Eslami (2020) opines a "nation-state is a political unit where the state, a centralised political organisation ruling over a population within a territory, and the Nation, a community based on a common identity, are congruent. It is a more precise perception than "country" since a country does not need a dominant national or ethnic group."[13]

1.2.4. Nation-building

Nation-building and state-building are frequently used interchangeably in academic literature and political discourse. Some authors use these phrases interchangeably, while others define them differently. Europeans frequently criticise Americans for using the term "nation-building," which reflects the uniquely American experience of developing a new political order in a land of new settlements devoid of deeply established peoples, cultures, and customs.[14]

Call (2008) says, "Nation-building 'actions are undertaken, usually by internal players, to forge a sense of common nationhood, overcome ethnic, sectarian, counter alternate sources of identity and loyalty, and mobilise a population behind a parallel state-building project. It may or may not contribute to peacebuilding. Confusingly equated to post-conflict stabilisation and peacebuilding in some recent scholarship and popular political discourse."[15]

What exactly is nation-building? Nation-building entails creating a new political culture in which national identities replace divisional identities. It is the process of making the various countries that inhabit different portions of a national geographic space (state) feel as if they belong together. In other words, transcending sectional divides involves establishing a shared identity and a common destiny. Country-building initiatives can aid in developing better social cohesion in places where there are differences, such as Switzerland, where a "strongly unified Swiss nation prospered within a unified federal system.

Nation-building is an independent process, and countries desperately need it despite having strong governments. Also, even though nation-building is an independent concept, according to the definitions, mentioned earlier the concept of nation-building can be accepted as a process during which legitimate power is created to maintain order, legality, and political stability in a national government. By accepting this definition, the nation-building process will have four dimensions:

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[13] Eslami, Rohollah, & Forozesh Ebrahim. (2020). Systematic Analysis of State-Nation Building and Political Development in Afghanistan: A Critical Approach to the Bonn Agreement and the Doctrine of Liberal Democracy from 2002 to 2021. *World Sociopolitical Studies*, *4*(3), pp. 571-573.

[14] Azami, Ahmad Shah. (2020). The post-9/11 US-led state-building in Afghanistan. *Central European Journal of Politics*, *6* (1), p. 3

[15] Call, Charles T., & Cousens, Elizabeth. M. (2008). Ending Wars and Building Peace: International Responses to War-Torn Societies. International Studies Perspectives, vol. 9, no. (1), pp. 1-21.

First: The gradual development of a sense of solidarity with the government and political associations.

Second: Expanding relationships between communities and associations, small groups, and cultures themselves in different regions;

Third: The gradual disappearance of former spiritual and socio-economic commitments and the formation of new acceptable patterns in society.

Fourth: Development of infrastructures, networks, and laws to exchange views between governments and nations.

1.2.5. Nation-building and Similar Concepts

As for as nation-building, in America is concerned the term nation-building is used simultaneously with state-building, political development, democratisation, modernisation, reconstruction, reconciliation, and sometimes peace-building. However, each term has its special definition and goals, which are completely different but related to nation-building, so all can be considered units of nation-building. In the following paragraphs, each of these concepts will be examined separately.

1.2.6. State-building

The last major wave of state-building before the 1990s was the post-colonial wave of the 1950s to 1970s in post-colonial Asia and Africa. A previously forgotten wave of state-building in Eastern Europe occurred after World War I. Within the post-communist wave of state-building, there are two or three distinct ‘sub-waves’: largely peaceful state-building in most of the post-communist realm versus highly conflictual and protracted state-building in the former Yugoslavia (with ongoing and unfinished state-building processes, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Kosovo); and overall successful state-building in those new states which acceded to the EU in 2004 (Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), versus more troubled state-building and greater weakening of the state in the rest of the former Soviet Union.

The end of the Cold War was an important ‘critical juncture’ for the development of states especially. Still, in the post-communist region itself and in parallel to post-communist state-building. Significant to mention that there has been an increase in state collapse (particularly in Africa) and humanitarian and security interventions (East Timor, Afghanistan, Iraq). As a result, the 1990s and 2000s are marked by rising concern about “state-building

strategies.[16] All of these current state-building waves have taken place where state and institutional models are widely available.[17]

State-building is used synonymously with nation-building, peacebuilding, and formation of state. The terms are not mutually particular but have clear differences, and they may disagree on their priorities. Here are various definitions of state-building. State-building has different meanings for different scholars and international organisations, but some key definitions will be highlighted here:

In general understanding, especially in political science, state building refers only to constructing the state apparatus. Charles Tilly describes the benefits of state building in Europe as follows. State building is an attempt to find specialised personnel, control over a unified area, loyalty and stability, and permanent institutions with a centralised and independent government with the exclusive privilege of using force against a given population[18].

Francis Fukuyama (2004) "State-building is the concept of institutional approaches to building and creating new governmental institutions and strengthening existing ones to provide public services, capacity building, and sustainable government has become one of the global issues. Weak, failed, or fragile states are at the root of various of the world's most serious problems, from poverty and Aids to drug trafficking to the failure of democracies".[19]

State-building is not a technical process of creating new government institutions or strengthening existing ones; these activities are described more precisely as "institution-building." A state-building lens focuses on the fact that functioning institutions and capacity do not rally on the official design but also on the social context in which the organisation operates. Formal sectors need to be sincerely used by the public. Otherwise, the risk will be captured by private or patrimonial interests.[20]

Call and Cousens (2008) define state-building as "Actions undertaken by national or international players to create, reform, support, or strengthen the institutions of the state and

[16] Fukuyama, Francis. (1989). "The End of History?" The National Interest, Summer. State-Building. Governance and World Order in the 21st Century. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

[17] Krasner, Stephen. (1984). "Approaches to the State." Comparative Politics, vol. 16, (2): pp. 223-246.

[18] Charles, Tilly. (1990). Coercion, Capital, and the European States, Cambridge & Oxford press: Blackwell, London pp. 3-5

[19] Fukuyama, Francis. (2004). The imperative of state-building. Journal of Democracy, Vol.15, No 2, April, pp. 17-31 17.

[20] OECD. (2008). State Building in Situations of Fragility: Initial Findings. *Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. Development Assistance Committee (DAC).*

their relation to the community" (which may or may not contribute to sustainable peacebuilding)[21].

According to Michael and Christoph (2009). "State-building refers to constructing institutions, reconstructing institutions, and strengthening the institutions of governance capable of providing citizens with economic and physical security. This includes quasi-governmental activities such as support in human rights, electoral, rule of law, technical supports, security reform, and certain forms of development support."[22]

Call and Wyeth (2008) In words of state-building actions undertaken by national or international Peacebuilding to consolidate or institutionalised stable peace."[23]

Roland Paris (2009) is of the view that "Peacebuilding action is undertaken at the end of a civil conflict to consolidate stable peace and prevent war recurrence. The peacebuilding process involves deploying military and civilian personnel from several regional and international agencies, with a mandate to conduct peace-building in a country that has just come from civil war"[24].

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and World Bank define "state-building concerns certain expectations of what these structures are supposed to do and how these functions are performed. The most important are often called core state functions in terms of accountability, transparency, or legitimacy".[25]

These processes ascertain the nature of the rule among the citizens and the state and how states can effectively negotiate and respond to societal expectations without recourse to violence. Where there is a mismatch between expectations and performance, it can result in political tensions that may result in instability or lead to a renegotiation of the political settlement.

A state-building perspective emphasises that functioning institutions depend on their technical and the social context within which they function. Formal institutions must be rooted in society and people; otherwise, they risk becoming power monopolies, or government failure

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[21] Call, Charles T & Cousens. Elizabeth M. (2008). Ending Wars and Building Peace: International Responses to War-Torn Societies. International Studies Perspectives, vol 9, no (1), pp. 1-21.

[22] Barnett, Michael, & Zürcher, Christoph. (2009). The peace-builders contract: How external state-building reinforces weak statehood. In *The dilemmas of state-building*. London: Routledge Press pp. 37-66.

[23] Call, Charles T., & Wyeth, Vanessa. (2008). Building states to build peace. Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner Press, London

[24] Paris, Roland, & Sisk Timothy D. (2009). The dilemmas of state-building: confronting the contradictions of post-war peace operations. Routledge Press, London.

[25] Chr. Michelsen Institute (2007). Peace Processes and State-building: Economic and Institutional Provisions of Peace Agreements. Prepared for the World Bank and United Nations Development Program, under the stewardship of the Chr. Michelsen Institute.

is favourable." This reflects directly on how the state performs and how it engages with society: its responsiveness to the interests and expectations of citizens, its accountability to them for the way it exercises the powers conferred upon it and the legitimacy with which it acts, the level of popular acceptance of its actions. While these elements have also formed part of the discourse on governance, the concept of legitimacy has assumed greater prominence with regard to the analysis of state-building. Lack of legitimacy is seen as a major contributor to state fragility because it undermines state authority and capacity.

Summering up it might be said that State-building is building functioning and durable states capable of fulfilling the essential attributes of modern statehood. The latter include providing security, internal order from external threats, collecting taxes, providing basic needs such as education and health, providing communications and transportation infrastructure, and economic development. State-building, focusing on strengthening important state institutions, has long been the attention of international development assistance. Furthermore, it might also be said that state-building is still a new approach to development theory, with extensive analytical work currently underway to clarify the concepts, processes, and operational responses.

1.12. Elements of State-building

State-building is a multifaceted process that involves the creation or strengthening of institutions to establish a stable and effective governance framework. However, successful state-building requires a comprehensive approach that considers the interplay of these institutions. This process is often necessary in post-conflict, weak, or fragile states where there may be a need to rebuild political, social, and economic systems.[26]

Key elements of state-building are as follows:

1.12.1. Security

Political changes in the world have shown that in a post-conflict situation, state-building is not only faced by challenges to the legitimacy and sovereignty of the state but also by a challenge to security. Hence, what is security, and to whom is it referring? The security component of state-building encompasses various dimensions, including enforcing peace, defending human rights, preserving public order, and instilling trust in the state. The Development Advisory

[26] Paris, Roland. & Sisk, Timothy, D. (2009). The dilemmas of state-building: confronting the contradictions of postwar peace operations. London, Routledge.

Committee (OECD) attempted to conceptualise understanding security as a development goal relevant to the context of state-building in the Developing countries:

'Security is a prerequisite and general need of communities condition in which people live in freedom, peace, safety, welfare, and, participate fully to the social and political activities in the governance of their countries, and enjoy the protection of fundamental rights. The security of people in a community and the security of states mutually guarantee some security factors.[27]

Measures ranging from Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration (DDR) and Security Sector Reform (SSR) to the imposition of transitional authority and foreign intervention can be used to attain these goals. Disarmament generally has two Specified roles. First, to remove how civil wars have been prosecuted and from providing environment stability has been achieved and second, to add to the process of confidence and security building. A sample of this trend can be seen in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003).[28] The point highlighted in all the literature on the relationship between security and state-building is that the cessation of violence was considered a prerequisite for state-building in post-conflict countries. Therefore, a peace agreement between the warring factions is usually achieved through international negotiations. This peace process and cessation of war did not exist in the case of Afghanistan. While the war has ended, the fighting is still ongoing between the government, the Taliban, and other military groups.[29]

Sequencing state-building and security is, therefore very important if state-building is to be successful. In a post-war situation, state-building often should be performed simultaneously with security provisions to prevent violence. To prevent a security and political vacuum, which could begin the conflict. However, Rubin briefs that impasse on state-building of what is to come as follows:

'If building security institutions, separating military and civilian roles, and strengthening the rule of law are required conditions for electoral politics to arbitrate among power contenders meaningfully, does state-building, or building basic local capacities for security or economic

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[27] OECD. DAC. A. (2005). Security Sector Reform and Governance: Policy and Good Practice. DAC Guidelines and Reference Series. OECD. pp. 20-21

[28] Spears, Joanna. (1999). The Disarmament and Demobilisation of Warring Factions in the Aftermath of Civil Wars: Key Implementation Issues. Civil Wars, 2, (2) p. 2

[29] United States Institute of Peace (2009). Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction. Washington DC, United States, Institute of Peace Press, p.37

development, have to take priority over holding elections or building other democratic institutions?'[30]

Therefore, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) objects to security being the top priority even in post-war states. Moreover, the OECD sees three elements of policy that should form the focus of post-conflict state-building. First, it is a political process that legitimates the state. Second, a framework for the rule of law, including economic governance, must be developed. Third, the re-establishment of a security framework, including the reconstitution of the state security apparatus.[31]

The fact is that security is ensured by an organisation, and for security organisations to contribute to state-building, they must be practical, legitimate, and follow acceptable behaviour. In that case, accepting international forces depends on the perception of the threat situation to post-conflict society.[32] Meanwhile, the return to sovereignty and the creation of state legitimacy defines the success or failure of the state-building effort.

1.12.2. Institutions

In the context of state-building, an institution refers to a formalised structure or organisation that plays a role in the governance and functioning of a state. Institutions are crucial components of a well-functioning state as they help establish and maintain order, provide public goods and services, and facilitate cooperation among individuals and groups within society. Therefore, Conflict not only destroys infrastructures and lives but can also horribly weaken and fail central government institutions through insecurity, the issue that happened in Afghanistan in 2021.[33] Because of the specific characteristics of a post-war context, establishing state institutions in the immediate aftermath of violent conflict is a unique undertaking endeavour with little relation to regular institution-building efforts or development work.[34] In an ideal condition, the longest legitimate institutions result from democratic political processes that create a space for negotiation and conciliation and allow for the participation of civil society and the public to develop a consensus understanding of what the rules governing

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[30] Rubin, Barnett. R. (2008). The Politics of Security in Post-conflict State-building. In: Call, Charles. T. & Wyeth, V. (eds.) Building states to build peace. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner; London, p. 41

[31] Ibid. no1, p. 29

[32] Carbone, Maurizio. (2009). Desperately seeking policy coherence-aid and security in the development policy of the European Union. In Workshop on Transforming Political Structures: Security, Institutions, and Regional Integration Mechanisms. European Report on Development in Florence, Italy, pp. 16-17.

[33] Cliffe, Sarah. & Manning, Nick. (2008). Practical Approaches to Building State Institutions. In: Call, Charles. T & Wyeth, V. (eds.) Building states to build peace. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner; London: European. p. 163

[34] Herrero, Jose, L. (2005). Building State Institutions. In: Junne, G. & Verkoren, W. (eds.) Post-conflict Development - Meeting New Challenges. Lynne Rienner Publishers. p. 43

political life should be.[35] However, in the immediate aftermath of conflict, a temporary transition phase will mainly provide humanitarian assistance and ensure a minimally secure place.[36] placing less importance on institution-building but simply on the provision of basic public goods. Mostly, after post-conflict, there is a specific time for rebuilding state institutions and constitutional reform in War-torn countries. Following the good governance debate, good governance and, the institution-building element in the post-war state-building approach is not so much concerned with the increase in administrative.[37] However, such institutions must be established and legitimised. Chandler mentions the problem similarly: he views state-building as overcoming institutional impediments or changing the rules of the game" by transforming bad governance into good governance.'[38]

The writing of reformed constitutions and the establishment of new institutions should not be used as an excuse for foreign actors to leave early, which is often exacerbated by national and international calls for elections.[39] In fact, developing technical proposals for institutional reform is simple; managing the political process of reform is difficult. State-building is a long process, especially because initiating changes in political and institutional culture, in addition to rebuilding institutions, are some of the most difficult aspects of any social transformation requiring changes in behaviour, expectations, and norms.'[40] Furthermore, as Ottaway correctly observes, states collapse not because institutions are weak but because the methods for creating power and authority are ineffective.[41] Therefore, temporary and transitional institutions and their capacities can experience difficulties to translate into national institution-building. Suppose these quasi-formal institutions are left outside the formal institution-building process for too long in this case, fragile states in post-war countries are weakened by the people, and public services are not performed normally.

Liberal state-building programmes aim to establish a multiparty democracy that can function without the support of international authority.[42]

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[35] Ibid. no48. p. 59
[36] Ibid. no10. p. 45
[37] Ibid., p. 43
[38] Chandler, David. (2010). International state-building. London, Abingdon Routledge. (2) p. 6
[39] Ibid. no11. p. 45
[40] Samuels, Kirsti. (2009). Post-war constitution building opportunities and challenges. In: Paris, Roland. & Sisk, Timothy. D. (eds.) The dilemmas of state-building: confronting the contradictions of postwar peace operations. London: Routledge, pp. 187-209.
[41] Ottaway, Marina. (2002). Rebuilding state institutions in collapsed states. Development and Change, 33, (5), p. 1001.
[42] Caplan, Richard. (2005). International Governance of War-Torn Territories, Oxford University Press, pp. 109-110.

The first post-conflict elections are very significant and have multiple objectives. First, they are, of course, designed to elect a new government. Still, they are also expected to prevent the reignition of conflict, promote reconciliation and initiate a process of democratising the polity[43].

Therefore, electoral processes 'are essential to state-building because they give a modicum of legitimacy and credibility to post-war regimes'[44]. The problem is that all these aims or elements of state-building are not always mutually reinforcing the state-building process because formal state institutions substantially affect the political system. However, when references are made to divided societies in terms of different ethnic, religious, and tribal groups, the negotiation and period must be lengthy and inclusive Otherwise, a new outbreak of war caused by one group's concentration of power in state institutions will exacerbate social and political cleavages. In evaluating this element, state-building has focused more on institution-building, such as administrative reform of government. As a result, effective institutions contribute to establishing the rule of law, supporting human rights, ensuring public order, and providing public services and overall stability.[45]

1.12.3. Civil and Political Rights

The most prominent civil right in state-building in post-conflict states is re-establishing the Rule of Law (RoL). However, a pertinent question arises as to why is this concept very important. According to Plunkett, the rule of law is like "glue" that holds the legal relationships that make up the state together.[46] He believes that the rule of law is a notional social contract by citizens in every country, who accept to regulate their behaviour by institutions that have the power of Legislation. regularly, which ensures that they get their authority from the state.[47] Rule of law is a concept that development actors have enthusiastically embraced since the 1990s. Still, as with most common words, it has been used more after. The rule of law purports to do everything from legislative, police, and judicial reforms to land and property administrations and marketplace reforms.[48] Beyond civil rights, the rule of law has become a

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[43] Kumar, Krishna. (2000). International Assistance for Post-Conflict Elections. In: Burnell, Peter. J. (ed.) Democracy assistance: international co-operation for democratization. London. pp. 191-209

[44] Sisk, Timothy. D. (2009). Pathways of the political-electoral processes after the Civil War. In: Paris, Roland. & Sisk, Timothy. D. (eds.) The dilemmas of state-building: confronting the contradictions of post-war peace operations. London: Routledge, p. 217

[45] Jeong, Ho-Won. (2005). Peace-building in Post-conflict Societies. London, Lynne Rienner Press. p. 83.

[46] Plunkett, Mark. (2005). Re-establishing the Rule of Law. In: Junne, G. & Verkoren, Willemijn. (eds.) Post-conflict Development-Meeting New Challenges. Lynne Rienner Press. p. 73.

[47] Ibid. p. 76.

[48] Jensen, Erik. G. (2008). Justice and the Rule of Law. In: Call, Charles. & Wyeth, V. (eds.) Building states to build peace. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner; London.

proxy for political, economic, social, and cultural decisions.[49] The set of indicators shows that the rule of law reinforces all sub-elements of state-building and indicates how the rule of law also relies on them. The enforcement model for the rule of law addresses cases such as criminal acts.[50]

Rule of Law is important for post-conflict state-building. However, the rule of law issue is important in the framework of the state-building process for donor countries, especially the European Union. In post-conflict countries, Europe is trying to do its share in two areas: judicial reforms. Second, the rule of law. This policy has been implemented by the European Union in Afghanistan since 2001. The rule of law in Afghanistan during the last two decades has been affected by extensive administrative corruption and incorrect policies of the government, which could not guarantee the position of the rule of law. Moreover, respect for liberties, rights, and human rights, also be Important points in the rule of law and political freedoms.

1.12.4. Social and Economic Rights

Social and Economic Rights (SER) are human rights concepts that ensure individuals' well-being and address social and economic inequalities. Unlike civil and political rights, which emphasise political freedoms and liberties, SER are concerned with the economic and social conditions necessary for individuals to lead a dignified life in every community. International Human Rights Conventions, constitutions, and laws often enshrine these rights. However, critical components of social and economic rights include the right to social security, the right to education, the right to work, the right to health, the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to cultural and scientific life, and the right to adequate housing. These rights are frequently interrelated and indivisible, meaning fulfilling one right might help fulfill others. Furthermore, social, and economic rights support has to exist in the state-building process. The growth of an undeveloped economy depends on the quality of the governance, policies, and institutions built during the state-building process in different countries Social and Economic development in post-conflict countries heavily depends on state-building elements, especially on successfully creating a conflict-free environment in different societies. as well as social and economic development is also dependent on an infrastructure of trade. Both are important for the economy to grow.[51] In many countries after the war, it has been proven that helping and

[49] United States Institute of Peace, Peacekeeping, & Stability Operations Institute. (2009), Features adapted from United States Institute of Peace Section (7).

[50] Ibid. no72, p. 81

[51] Pugh, Michael, Neil Cooper, and Mandy Turner, (eds.) (2008). Whose Peace? Critical perspectives on the Political Economy of Peace-building: Palgrave.

giving land to people who have returned from the war has helped the economic and social development of the community.[52]

These rights are often interdependent and indivisible, meaning that the realisation of one right can contribute to the realisation of others. However, the international community recognises Social and Economic Rights through various treaties and agreements, such as the Conventions of Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights (CESCR). As a result, the enforcement and realisation of these rights vary significantly across countries and areas. Advocacy and policy efforts are ongoing to address socio-economic disparities and support the realisation of Social and Economic Rights around the world.[53]

1.13. Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework is an important tool that guides and directs the research work.[54] A theoretical framework demonstrates how a topic's identified core set of connectors fits together.[55] A theoretical framework is defined as a strategy for accepting or using theory's assumptions, postulates, and principles in describing and analysing a research problem. Theories are not fixed; instead, they are plausible explanations that we reformulate to make sense of a collection of information to support the importance of a theory by claiming that it organises and enhances our concepts, like a map for exploring unexplored territories.[56] It is also opined that a theoretical framework is a structure that presents the theory that explains why the problem under study exists.

State Fragility Theory: The basis for explaining the armed conflict in nondeveloped countries around the world corresponds with what the theory of fragility sets out to do. The theory mentions the states' inability to achieve their social contract by providing support and essential services for their citizens.[57] Something fragile means it is prone to damage by the slightest carelessness. The Oxford Dictionary defines fragility as the quality of being delicate or vulnerable. After World War II, most sovereign states became crippled with internal conflict civil wars, and some unbearable conditions working against human and social development,

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[52] Collier, David. (2008). Post-conflict Economic Policy. In: Call, Charles. & Wyeth, V. (eds.) Building states to build peace. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner; London.

[53] Ibid. no24, p. 127.

[54] Goode, Willian, J & Hatt, Paul. K. (1952): Methods in Social Research, Singapore, Mc Graw Hill Book Company Inc. p. 7

[55] Obasi, Isaac. N. (1999). Research Methodology in Political Science, Enugu: Academic Publishing Company. p. 22.

[56] Kramer, Roderick, M. (1999). Trust and distrust in organizations: Emerging perspectives, enduring questions. *Annual review of psychology*, *50*(1), 569-598.

[57] Suda, Perera. (2015). State Fragility, Developmental Leadership Program, Concept Brief 03, p. 2.

leading them to be classified as either failed or collapsed states. State fragility theory is one of the social, political, economic, and environmental concepts that explain human living conditions and the social development of countries using the comparative mechanism.[58] establishes that the incidence of wars, factional conflict, religious, ethnic, economic, and political conflict, poverty, guerrilla activity, and generally the growth of "new wars" that are beyond conventional warfare, prompted policy analysts to forge new concepts such as the quasi-state and fragile state. According to Kaldor M, new wars are the wars of the era of globalisation and are found in areas where authoritarian states have been greatly weakened because of opening to the rest of the world.[59] The new wars worldwide may occur in the form of insurgency and terrorism, considering the involved state and non-state players and their goals, which always rest on political, religious identity, economic, and social interests. Moreover, it is very important to state that fragile states are those states that cannot provide the essential human needs of their citizens, thus making them vulnerable such as security challenges, unemployment, poverty, environmental conditions, displacement, trafficking, violent attacks, kidnapping, human trafficking, etc.[60] It is important to note that sovereign states are expected to carry out certain minimal functions for the security, well-being, and smooth operation of the international system; however, when these states renege or fail in their expectations, citizens are placed in difficult living conditions, the states are automatically classified as weak, collapsed, and fragile with poor performance. As pointed out by Bolton, D.J. and Hernandez, F.M., 50% of fragile states' populations live on/under USD 1.25$ a day, which significantly increases the probability of poor health, violence, low education, armed conflict, and civil war because of extreme poverty.[61] The state fragility theory emphasises a state's inherent incapacity to execute duties required to meet citizens' basic needs and expectations. It also shows the incapability of the government to provide the basic needs of citizens, such as security, rule of law, justice, economic opportunities, and basic services.

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[58] Olivier, Nayi. (2012). *Fragile and Failed States: Critical Perspectives on Conceptual Hybrids*, A Paper Prepared for the 22nd IPSA World Congress of Political Science, 34(3), pp .8-12.

[59] Kaldor, Mary. (2013). In Defence of New Wars. Stability: *International Journal of Security and Development,* Vol. 2(1), p. 4.

[60] Torres, Magui, M. & Anderson, Michael. (2004). "Fragile States: Defining Difficult Environments for Poverty Reduction" Poverty Reduction in Difficult Environments Working Paper 1. London: Department for International Development. Available at: http://siteresources.worldbank.org

[61] Bolton, Debra. J. & Hernandez, Francisco. M. (2016). Fragile States: Beyond International Borders and into U.S. Communities, Adult Education Research Conference. Available at: http://newprairiepress.org/aerc/2016/papers/4.

According to the centrality of state fragility theory, a weak and inefficient central government with little real control over much of its territory, a lack of public services, widespread corruption, and criminality; refugees, and forced population movement are all possibilities. According to the Department for International Development, the fragility of the state is revealed when the government will not or cannot deliver core functions to most of its people in the society including the poor. The Department for International Development (DFID) is in London UK. Furthermore, it regards a fragile state as the governing elite's insecurity, which leads to the victimisation of some or all the nation's inhabitants, as the Taliban did in Afghanistan. Hence, the theory of fragile state has been generally used to measure the extent to which a state is developed, developing, or underdeveloped. It is a very related theory adopted in explaining the extent to which the state is fragile or functional.[62] The theory of state fragility and the indicators of state fragility correspond to Afghanistan's political, economic, and social conditions from 1970 to 2001.

1.14. Review of Related Literature

The purpose of reviewing the literature for the study is to obtain relevant information about the research topic. The literature review provides essential background knowledge about similarities and differences between the present study and prior research studies. This literature section will include topics and sub-topics on the challenges of state-building and others related to the topic. As mentioned above, this literature review focuses on state-building in Afghanistan from 2005 to 2015. The literature covers various general studies on state building, specifically in Afghanistan. State-building is experiencing a 'renaissance' and is the topic of several recent books, journal symposia, international conferences, and research initiatives. There is a vast amount of written material that relates either explicitly or implicitly to the topic of state-building. But it would not be possible to cover everything. Instead, this review presents diverse opinions on state-building from literature spanning several fields, mainly written in the last twenty years regarding Afghanistan. Although much recent work on state-building focuses on third-world countries and war-torn countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria, this review attempts to present a more geographically unbiased, global perspective, with particular attention to including material on Afghanistan.

State-building is an interdisciplinary topic, drawing interest and discussions from social sciences, such as international relations, political studies, anthropology, economics,

[62] OECD (2005). The Cost and Benefits of Trade Facilitation, Policy Brief of Organization for Economic Co-operation, and Development. Paris-France.

international development, and security studies. Representatives from these diverse fields often come together and work collaboratively to analyse extremely complex state-building situations. An example is Berger and Weber's article in Third World Quarterly: a jointly published article by a historian and a political scientist in a mainstream development journal.[63] Therefore, it is impossible to consistently identify one coherent perspective on state-building and attribute it to a particular discipline. International relations academics, for example, articulate very diverse approaches to state-building. However, this section highlights the theories, concepts, and problems arising from the state-building literature.

Bieber, F. (2011). "Building Impossible States? State-Building Strategies and European Union" The dual approach of the European Union to examine its application to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo. It argues that the E.U.'s approach has relied strongly on the effect of conditionality as a tool of state-building. Also, the causes of this failure and what this means for future EU-driven state-building in the Western Balkans and in other post-conflict regions were important. The European Union integration process compounds the nature of the state in the western Balkans. The study highlights three models of state-building. The first type of state-building consists of direct intervention in the construction of the state through the building of new institutions, the imposition of the rule of law, and other acts. The second form of external state-building is conducted through coercion and close monitoring of the state builders. Finally, the third form of state-building could be called long State-building.[64]

Bizhan, N. (2018). "Aid and State-building" The receipt of international aid, either as budget support or increasingly aligned with local government priorities, helps state-building. The process that happened in Afghanistan after 2001. However, the study explores a different dynamic of post-war assistance to Afghanistan and Iraq, which had a legacy of fragile states. It argues that under more adverse initial conditions for a weak state, the role of the aid regime and state-building strategies become even more important. Under these conditions, aid and state-building plans may undermine state-building if they induce discontinuity in the existing state capacity and create parallel institutions to the states. The issue of state-building in countries depends on the policy-making of the leaders. State weakness may be reinforced if leaders are preoccupied with patronage politics.[65]

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[63] Berger, Mark. T. & Heloise, Weber. (2006). Beyond state-building: Global governance and the crisis of the nation-state system in the 21st century. *Third World Quarterly, 27*(1), 201-208.

[64] Bieber, Florian. (2011). Building impossible states? State-building strategies and EU membership in the Western Balkans. *Europe-Asia Studies*, *63*(10), pp. 1783-1802.

[65] Bizhan, Nematullah. (2018). Aid and state-building, Part II: Afghanistan and Iraq. *Third World Quarterly*, *39*(5), pp.14-31.

Chesterman, S. (2002). "Walking Softly in Afghanistan" The Future of United Nations State-Building. During the initial stages of the military action in Afghanistan, there was considerable discussion about the role the United Nations would play after the war. It was thought that with the American military action in Afghanistan, this responsibility would be transferred to the United Nations. Other international actors and the United Nations want to rebuild Afghanistan using the Kosovo and East Timor models. These expectations were tempered by the challenging security environment and the decision by international forces in Afghanistan to limit their presence in the cities. Prospects were also limited by the political context within which the United Nations. However, what was in Kosovo and East Timor is completely different from the situation in Afghanistan because it is different regarding environment and geography. Furthermore, the United Nations mission adopted the Bonn process, the guiding principle that it should first and foremost bolster Afghan capacity, both official and non-governmental, and rely on as limited an international force presence and on as many Afghan people. [66]

Francis, Fukuyama. (2004). "The Imperative of State-building" argues that state-building consists of establishing new government institutions and strengthening existing ones, a crucial issue for the world community. Fukuyama continued that state-building is a critical issue for the international community since weak or failed states are the root of many of the world's most significant problems, ranging from poverty, insecurity, and wars to narcotics to terrorism and human trafficking. Furthermore, weak states have been and continue to be a major source of difficulty in global development.[67]

Jalali. A. A. (2002). "Rebuilding Afghanistan's National Army" Creating a strong centralised army has long been the major tool Afghanistan's state builders used to establish sovereignty and pursue their modernisation programme. A causal connection can be drawn between the failure of this endeavour to consolidate a viable army, which can be conceptualised as the forerunner of the Security Sector Reform process. Over the last 150 years, state order has occasionally broken up. The current Security Sector Reform process represents the fourth attempt to re-create the Afghan security architecture, with the failure of the previous three opening the door for state collapse and a resumption of internecine conflict.[68]

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[66] Chesterman, Simon. (2002). Walking softly in Afghanistan: the future of United Nations state-building. *Survival*, *44*(3), pp. 37-45.

[67] Fukuyama, Francis. (2004). The imperative of state-building. *Journal of Democracy*, *15*(2), pp. 17-31.

[68] Jalali, A. A. (2002). Rebuilding Afghanistan's National Army. *The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters*, *32*(3), 7.

Khalilzad (2010), "Afghanistan & Iraq: Lessons from Afghanistan and Iraq" For almost a decade, international coalitions led by the United States have supported complex democracy-building efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq. The effort to support democracy in Afghanistan and Iraq has taken place while these countries have dealt with the related challenges of nation-building. To unify the two fractured countries, the international community has worked to develop national compacts among diverse peoples and key groups. State-building has been necessary as well. Decades of tyranny and war in the two states have inhibited the emergence of institutions that can perform the functions of a normal state and win the trust of their people. Both countries also face the challenge of demobilising militias and insurgents. Economic development and reconstruction have been another area of focus. The goal has been to improve living standards so that the new order can deliver greater prosperity. Despite that, the degree to which state-building has been successful has had clear effects on the trajectory of political development in Iraq and Afghanistan. Improved security played a major role in facilitating recent positive trends in Iraq. Poor security and weak institutions contributed to the problems in the 2009 presidential election in Afghanistan. Successful elections, institution-building, the rule of law, and economic and social development are mutually reinforcing goals of concrete state-building.[69]

Lister, S. (2009). "State-Building and Local Government in Afghanistan" Afghanistan began to make efforts for the rule of law and governance after 2001. Nonetheless, resistance to attempts to enforce bureaucratic standards, combined with the international community's failure to comprehend the role of states in power, has contributed to state-building failure. This has directly affected the reconstruction and stability of states in Afghanistan and State-building. However, the state-building process after 2001 positively affected Afghanistan.[70]

Maley, W. (2013). "State-building in Afghanistan: Challenges and Pathologies," The problems related to the state-building process in Afghanistan were set in a wider context. When major disasters occur, the complex interaction of multiple factors rather than one big mistake explains why some complex undertakings run into them. However, since 2001, the Afghan state-building process has been complicated by various issues, including the unintended consequences of political decisions and the selection of institutions that fostered dysfunctional policy-making. These problems have had a corrosive effect on state-building, leaving an

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[69] Khalilzad, Zalmay. (2010). Afghanistan & Iraq: Lessons from Afghanistan and Iraq. *Journal of Democracy*, *21*(3), pp. 41-49.

[70] Lister, Sarah. (2009). Changing the rules? State-building and local government in Afghanistan. *The Journal of Development Studies*, *45*(6), pp. 990-1009.

ambiguous legacy as Afghanistan proceeds toward one of the most challenging phases of its modern history. Nonetheless, the idea of 'state-building' is a complex one.[71]

Marquette, H., & Beswick, D. (2011). "Introduction to State-Building, Security, and Development" State-building cuts across disciplines such as international relations, anthropology, economics, international development, and security studies. The question is whether state-building, as defined by Western donors and some academics, constitutes a new paradigm for development. In development studies, state-building in 1950 and 1960 was linked with nation-building and carried a strong conceptual link to modernisation theory. Moreover, state-building is to be considered an explicit aim of development rather than a side-effect, and particularly if the focus on engagement with fragile states continues, donors need to develop a better awareness of how their efforts work in different country contexts and extend their focus beyond elites and institutions. The state-building process is never fragile; the existing states, institutions, and political authorities have contributed to fragility.[72]

Mac Ginty, R. (2010). "State-building in Afghanistan: warlords and liberal peace "The challenges to liberal peace have become apparent in post-Taliban 2001 state-building in Afghanistan, and there were concerns about its success. However, one aspect of the state-building process, the incorporation of 'warlords' or non-state military commanders into government, is to examine the wider accommodation phenomenon between customary Afghan politics and internationally-supported state-building, the cohabitation of warlordism with the attempts to build a modern state along the Weberian line. The implications for liberal peace include incorporating warlords into the Afghan government. Five observations are worth making in reviewing the Afghan case. Firstly, there is a need to view the totality of actors in liberal peace contexts. The second observation stemming from the Afghan case is the need to recognise political actors' heterogeneity in liberal peace contexts. Third, and relatively, many proponents of liberal peace find it difficult to accept actors and results that do not adhere, at least normally, to the liberal ideal. The fourth observation is to flag the contradictions within the liberal peace and state-building once operationalised in an insecure environment. Finally, moving away from the implications for liberal peace, the Afghan case reinforces the need to update conceptualisations of warlords, which seek to cast them in nondimensional terms.[73]

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[71] Maley, William. (2013). State-building in Afghanistan: challenges and pathologies. *Central Asian Survey*, *32*(3), pp. 255-270.

[72] Marquette, Heather, & Beswick, Deswick. (2011). State Building, Security and Development: state-building as a new development paradigm? *Third World Quarterly*, *32*(10), pp. 1703-1714.

[73] Mac Ginty, Roger. (2010). Warlords and the liberal peace: state-building in Afghanistan. *Conflict, Security & Development*, *10*(4), pp. 577-598.

Monten, J. (2014). "Intervention and State-Building: Comparative Lessons from Afghanistan, Japan, and Iraq" The United States occupation and beginning of state-building in Japan in 1945, Afghanistan in 2001, and Iraq in 2003. The analysis suggests that external interveners face substantial barriers to state-building in circumstances that lack favourability, and there will be many obstacles. The United States and their allies have been more successful when preserving existing state capacity than when attempting to build state strength where it did not previously exist. However, this study suggests several lessons for using military intervention to assist fragile states in building more durable and effective state institutions, alone or with large international aid programs.[74]

Rabaia, I. S., Kheng, Y. K., &Tumin, M. B. (2018) "State-building in post-conflict zones: lessons from Palestine and Kosovo" Study explained the state-building attempts in post-conflict zones. The neoliberal economic system has dominated the major international organisations to the point where the latter have built their approaches to state-building on it. In addition, the model has been carried out in Palestine and Kosovo but failed to meet the expected demands of independence and prosperity. The overall 20-year performance of state-building in Palestine, 20 years in Afghanistan, and 15 years in Kosovo have created renter states with several fragilities. This situation that portrays neoliberal state-building failures motivates further research using alternative or other developed models.[75]

Rotberg, R. I. (2003). "Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States" the study examines contemporary cases of nation-state collapse and failure. It establishes clear criteria for distinguishing collapse and failure from generic weakness or apparent distress and collapse from failure. It further analyses the nature of state weakness and advances reasons why some states are weak. They encompass expectations and conceivably obligations, inform the local political culture, and have attempted to relate the social contract between rulers and ruled at the core of regime/government and citizenry interactions. The article's findings revealed that failed states are tense, deeply conflicted, dangerous, and bitterly contested by warring factions.[76]

Rubin, B. R., & Hamidzada, H. (2007). "From Bonn to London; Challenges and the Future of State-building in Afghanistan" The Bonn Conference and Afghanistan's achievement of its

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[74] Monten, Jonathan. (2014). Intervention and state-building: comparative lessons from Japan, Iraq, and Afghanistan. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *656*(1), pp. 173-191.

[75] Rabaia, Ibrahim. S., Kheng, Yeoh. K. & Tumin, M. B. (2018). State-building in post-conflict zones: lessons from Palestine and Kosovo. *International Journal of Ethics and Systems*.

[76] Rotberg, Robert. I. (2003). Failed states, collapsed states, weak states: Causes and indicators. State failure and state weakness in a time of terror, pp. 2, 12.

set goals and the support of the international community in Afghanistan needs. Policy suggestions are being developed to facilitate reconstruction operations and maintain sufficient global engagement to avoid failure in Afghanistan. The Bonn Conference consisted of four groups aimed to organise and divide political power that would bring different Afghan factions into a temporary government led by Hamid Karzai. The agreement set deadlines for actions to make that administration legitimate and representative of the people. With international military and economic aid, Afghanistan met the benchmarks of the Bonn agreement By holding the first elections and approving the constitution. However, the period between the Bonn negotiations, the establishment of the interim administration, and the more Afghan-led London Conference has been littered with positive and negative aspects for governance and state-building.[77]

Rubin, B. R. (2006). "State-building and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan" In the aftermath of civil wars in Afghanistan, international actors worry about tribalism and the division of war-torn countries into islands of power like Afghanistan, which had interested the country's call for a state-building process. However, the Afghanistan reconstruction and state-building challenges highlight authority splits, rivalries, and disintegration. While political sensitivities prevented the High-level Plan (HLP) from using the term 'state-building', such operations have the paradoxical mission of helping on state-building other countries build a sovereign government. Furthermore, studies of state-building operations often try to identify 'best practices' without asking for whom they are best. While actors can learn how better to achieve their goals, every step of the process of internationally sponsored state-building generates political conflict.[78]

Sedra, M. (2007). "Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan: An Instrument of the State-Building Project" To achieve successful state-building, the first step is creating a viable security sector conforming to international standards of Afghanistan's state-building. The security sector reform (SSR) process is the foundation on which progress in the rebuilding effort depends. Still, inadequate consideration has been given to reform contexts, none as complex as Afghanistan. However, ancient security mechanisms such as customary law and militia systems have remained intact in the Afghan environment. Meanwhile, modern formal organisations fostered by external help have failed to take shape and gain credibility. This

[77] Rubin, Barnett. R., & Hamidzada, Humayun. (2007). From Bonn to London: governance challenges and the future of state-building in Afghanistan. *International Peacekeeping*, *14*(1), pp. 8-25.

[78] Rubin, Barnett. R. (2006). Peace Building and State-Building in Afghanistan: constructing sovereignty for whose security? Third World Quarterly, 27(1), pp. 175-185.

problematic relationship between the informal and the formal or the modern and the traditional has hampered efforts to modernise and reconstruct Afghanistan's security sector for a practical and functional state-building process.[79]

Tripp, C. (2004). "The United States and State-Building in Iraq" Considering Iraq's terrible security situation, the establishment and growth of communal militia groups is a concerning development. The fast demolition and sluggish reconstitution of the central state's security forces have exacerbated the situation. Furthermore, it raises two important questions about the future direction of the Iraqi state and, thus, about the outcomes of the kind of state-building operation on which the U.S. is presently embarked in that country. On the one hand, there is the question of the nature of the future relationship between the armed militias of a communally organised polity and the central state's powers. It indicates that, on the contrary, they can be easily absorbed into existing processes and connections, mainly when focused on goals that prioritise social order over the potentially destabilising new results.[80]

Summary of the Reviews: While much remains to be done on the state-building process in Afghanistan, the literature review analysis clarifies that state-building opportunities exist to secure the country by linking political, security, and development objectives. This approach towards state-building, however, must be continued and enhanced and need not generate controversy or difficulty. Undoubtedly, post-Taliban 2001 state-building faced many challenges and issues. The authors have not conducted any scientific research about it. The state-building of the past two decades of Afghanistan faced internal and external problems by actors, and each actor was looking for his or her interests. Finally, they did not align with the main goal of state-building and creating a politically stable country to ensure the security of Afghanistan's development.

1.15. Significance of the Study

The significance of state-building has been of interest for a long time to countries, organisations, and institutions. The definition of state-building, such as another phenomenon, like war peace from a few centuries discussed. State-building in Afghanistan is a requirement for the region and the countries worldwide, especially Afghanistan’s neighboring countries. Because the existence of war and terrorism in Afghanistan caused insecurity in neighboring

[79] Sedra, Mark. (2007). Security sector reform in Afghanistan: an instrument of the state-building project. In the *Fragile States and Insecure People?* Palgrave Macmillan, New York. pp. 151-176.

[80] Tripp, Charles. (2004). The United States and state-building in Iraq. *Review of International Studies*, *30*(4), pp. 545-558.

countries. So, state-building is an urgent need for a country like Afghanistan because war and lack of a strong and legitimate government dominated for three decades. Most of the Afghan people suffered extensive harm during the civil war.

The result of this research would be fruitful for political science students and political elites to figure out the strengths and weaknesses of the state-building process in Afghanistan. There is no doubt that students of political science, economics, and, more precisely, politician's public administrators, and policymakers would benefit from this study for it equips them with knowledge in the field and expose them to the current challenges regarding state-building in general and Afghanistan in particular. The study is of great significance to the public for it gives insights and deepens our understanding of the theory of state-building in the scenario of Afghanistan. Because of the above reasons, studying peacebuilding, stability, and non-violent living is significant to address the Afghan imbroglio and bring about conflict resolution in Afghanistan.

1.16. Statement of the Problem

This study is about the state-building process in Afghanistan; from 2005-2015 especially the issues and challenges bedeviling the state-building process in Afghanistan with reference to the 2005-2015 period.

According to political analysts, the state exists in societies with four characteristics, but sometimes one of its elements loses its efficiency and effectiveness, and a weak and fragile state comes into existence. Afghanistan is an example of such a government. Therefore, state-building in such societies does not mean the formation of a new state as a great concept, but rather means an institutional building that focuses more on the capacity building of these institutions as a process. During the Taliban era and the civil war in Afghanistan, all infrastructural facilities were destroyed. The key question is why the state-building process in Afghanistan has failed once again. What factors have led to the failure of the state-building process in Afghanistan? In Afghanistan, after the Bonn conference, the state-building process has faced many challenges for almost two decades. What are these challenges? What is the cause of this key challenge? Although Afghanistan, with the financial, political, and military support of the international community and the United States, began the process of state-building after the fall of the Taliban in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is still struggling to re-establish a strong and viable state focusing on the institutional building capable of responding to the will and aspirations of the general citizens, which is the major goal and aim of this research work.

The basic purpose of the United States after the defeat of the Taliban in Afghanistan was to build a state based on the model of external intervention (international model) carried out by the United States in Afghanistan. The concept of state-building become a common currency in post-war countries, including Afghanistan. The process and creation of the modern state have a long history in the context of Afghanistan. Unfortunately, civil wars have devastated the infrastructures and social capital of Afghanistan, and of course, so many reasons have contributed to the failure of the state in Afghanistan; this work will not touch on the historical perspective on the state-building process in Afghanistan but on the study limits on the formation of new state based on Bonn agreement and as well as diagnoses challenges of the state-building process in the post-Taliban regime, particularly between 2005-2015. The lack of a strong state is the main cause of socio-economic, political, and many other challenges in developing countries in general and particularly in Afghanistan. The question regarding the state-building process in Afghanistan is, why did the process of state-building fail in Afghanistan between 2005 and 2015? After the collapse of the Taliban administration, based on the Bonn Conference USA and its allies, as well as the United Nations, tried to build a strong democratic state in Afghanistan. Several studies have been conducted on the state-building process in Afghanistan for example, Hamidzada, (2007). focuses on facilitating reconstruction efforts from Bonn to the London conference as a part of state-building. Rubin, (2006). the impact of peacebuilding and state-building on sovereignty and security in Afghanistan after 2001. However, Mac Ginty (2010). Highlight The contradictions in liberal peace that have emerged in Afghanistan post-Taliban state-building. And how it created challenges to the state-building process in Afghanistan. Moreover, Fukuyama (2004). Argues that state-building consists of the establishment of new government institutions as well as the strengthening of existing ones. He also contends that state-building is a critical issue for the international community since weak or failed states are the root of many of the world's most significant problems, ranging from poverty, insecurity, and wars to narcotics to terrorism and human trafficking. As mentioned earlier, there is no research on state-building after the Bonn conference focused on the concept of an institution-building because the process that happened in 2001, was a state-building process on the concept of government institutional-building, this is a gap to be filled by this study.

Observed that in all the studies done by these authors, it is no one discussed state-building in Afghanistan. So, the study will focus totally on the state-building process in Afghanistan with special emphasis on institution building. The lack of functional as well as well-structured institutions is the cause of the failed, weak, and fragile state of Afghanistan

Why, despite massive international community cooperation, NATO, and efforts of the United States, Afghanistan really suffers from the absence of a strong state? And the post-Bonn process of state-building is not successful. Therefore, the current study will consider the state-building process after the Bonn conference and the barriers, issues, and challenges of the state-building process of the state with a special focus on "2005-2015," respectively. Therefore, today it is crystal clear that the state of Afghanistan is faced with several challenges and issues. This is showcased by the inability of the state to deliver public services and function as a state. It is in view of the magnitude of the above that the current study tries to explore the factors has really challenge the state-building process in modern Afghanistan. In sum, this study will evaluate the state-building process in the context of Afghanistan, and analyse how the process of State-building happened between 2005 and 2015. The study borrows from the institutional approach as propagated by Weber. The 'institutional' approach defined the state as an institution that monopolised the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory' He considered the state as an institution with the capacity to provide security which is a key indicator of state strength.[81] This study will take this view in its progress toward examining the State-building process in Afghanistan. This approach is of great importance to this study because of its ability to concentrate on the physical and institutional building of the state. Moreover, the provision of security and improvement of administration served as a bedrock for the successful State-building process. With this objective in mind, endeavour the study will address the following questions:

What are the challenges and factors that led to the failure of the state-building process in Afghanistan? Whether the state-building process in Afghanistan will succeed or not, or whether the state-building process will fail again?

1.17. Justification of the Study

The study can be justified on several grounds. First, it has been done on state-building in general. This calls for a full-scale and detailed examination that requires examining the state-building process in Afghanistan from a historical point of view. The process is from top to bottom, especially after post-Taliban state-building or American model state-building. It started with institutional building, capacity building, and strengthening with the cooperation of the international community in Afghanistan in 2001, which faced great obstacles. This study assumes that such a full-scale and detailed examination of the state-building process in

[81] Weber, Max. (1948). Politics as a Vocation. In H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, (eds.) 1958 From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York: Oxford University Press. p78.

Afghanistan can contribute to a better understanding of the nature and dynamics of the state-building process in Afghanistan.

According to the researchers**,** any justification or significance of a study must be concerned with three main questions:

- How will the study add to scholarly research and literature in state-building?
- How will the study improve state-building in Afghanistan?
- How will the study improve the practice of state-building in Afghanistan[82]?

Hence, this study will contribute to Researchers, Policy makers, and government organisational practices. Primarily, this study is significant as it addresses the present condition that Afghanistan faces again, with a fragile state and state-building failure that remains an issue of serious concern for the Afghan people.

Moreover, it would potentially add to the literature available on state-building. Furthermore, the study may provide relevant policy information in state-building, formulation, and implementation. More significantly, the study would shed more light on some of the problems, issues, and challenges involved in the state-building process in Afghanistan.

The study would also be a helpful guide to any social and political group interested in state-building and the state-building process in Afghanistan. The study can potentially make a significant theoretical contribution to the state-building process, especially relating to the state Fragility theory. Finally, the study will also help the students and scholars of political science, international relations, political development, public policy, good governance, peacebuilding, and nation-building who are researching state-building studies.

1.18. Objectives of the Study

The study has broad and specific objectives:

1. To examine the status and trends of the state-building process in the post-Taliban era in Afghanistan 2005-2015.
2. To examine the impacts of the Bonn Agreement and the role of international and regional players in the State-building process in Afghanistan.
3. To identify and analyse the challenges bedeviling the state-building process in Afghanistan.

1.19. Research Questions

[82] Creswell, John. W. & Creswell, David, J. (2017). Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach. Sage publisher. P. 56.

Research questions are indispensable because they define the objective and direction of an academic study. Obasi (1999) stressed that the research question is a major issue that needs to be correctly understood and investigated. Therefore, the current research has raised the following questions to guide this study:

1. What are the trends and status of the State-building process in the post-Taliban era in Afghanistan between 2005-2015?
2. What are the impacts of the Bonn Agreement and the role of international and regional players in the State-building process in Afghanistan?
3. What are the challenges bedeviling of State-building process in Afghanistan?

1.20. Research Hypothesis

The broad hypotheses of this study are as follows:

1. That the Bonn agreement and the international and regional players played an important role in the state-building process in Afghanistan.
2. Corruption, weak institutions, and insecurity are causative aspects state-building process in Afghanistan.
3. That the post-Taliban era does not create a conducive atmosphere for the State-building process in Afghanistan.

1.21. Research Methodology

The study has explored and focused on the state-building process in Afghanistan from (2005-2015) and identified the barriers regarding the success and failure of institutions of the state-building process in Afghanistan. The study is clear about the state-building process in Afghanistan. Furthermore, mainly focused on the challenges of state-building after the Bonn Agreement, the state-building process started in 2001 after the first phase of the defeat of the Taliban in Afghanistan with the support of the international community. However, each scientific research is based on the nature of the research method, so the methodology adopted is qualitative, descriptive, and analytical.

Methods of Data Collection: Data collection is one of the important instruments used to collect information pertaining to the study. Primary and secondary sources of data have been used for the present study.

Primary Sources: Primary data was collected through by semi-structured interview schedule online and in print versions (Video, Audio, and Text) for the different categories of respondents (Government and Non-Government Senior Government Employees, Academics, Experts, Researchers, from the United Nations, National, and International NGOs, the Peace High

Council of Afghanistan, the Afghan Civil Society, and the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission in Kabul Afghanistan.).

Secondary Sources: Secondary data was gathered from a variety of sources, including the government reports, articles published in journals, information collected from various websites, books, reports, and prior studies related to the topic. Based on these sources, the researcher developed the conceptual framework and it was helpful to develop tools for the collection of primary data.

Data Collection Instruments: The interview questionnaire method was employed because all the respondents were literate. The interview questions comprised open and close-ended questions. All the interview questions were grouped under five sections. Section One was on Historical Approaches of State-Building, Section Two on Status, and Trends of State-building after post-Taliban 2001, Section Three Bonn Conference 2001 on state-building in Afghanistan, Section Four on the Role of the Regional International Players in State-building, and the last section was challenges of state-building from 2005-2015.

1.22. Scope of the Study

The state-building process is a wide topic that is difficult to cover the research of this nature. State-building process in Afghanistan encompasses studying the present nature of the state machinery. Their functioning in the state-building process and understanding of the factors that caused barriers regarding the success and failures of the governmental institutions and their legitimacy from our analysis of the above assertions, covering the whole aspect of state-building is not a simple task.

Therefore, the research study limits the Afghan government, international organisations, and international actors involved in the state-building process after the Bonn conference as the scope of the study. This is a descriptive, analytical, and semi-structured interview study method of the state-building process in Afghanistan from “2005 to 2015” focusing on issues and challenges of state-building in Afghanistan. The area of study has been selected purposely in the field of the state-building process in Afghanistan. However, its accessibility enables the researcher to better understand the issues through frequent document analysis and literature reviews regarding the state-building process.

1.23. Limitations of the Study

According to the existing literature review, this research regarding state-building in Afghanistan is new. Studies have been done about the state-building process in Afghanistan recently at the Ph.D.

The lack of well-organised secondary sources is a significant limitation encountered during the proposal study because the concept of state-building is multidimensional and includes social, economic, and political aspects. The study faced several challenges in generating data, especially primary data, so the present study has been conducted for the fulfillment of a Ph.D., so the main Limitations are the following:

1. Resource constraints in the state-building subject;
2. The Republic of the Afghan government collapsed to the Taliban regime on 15. August 2021, so access to government information resources was limited. All the institutions of repute that helped provide primary resources were closed, which to a certain extent hampered the research work;
3. One of the most significant limitations was During this research, some people with knowledge and expertise in this field were not willing to be interviewed due to security issues and challenges.
4. Another important limitation of this study is the translation of the literature available in the Persian language into English, due to the lack of enough resources in English; and few scholars with the requisite expert knowledge;
5. Lack of secondary data, especially in terms of 2005-2015 For state-building in Afghanistan and non-sharing of the above data by the relevant departments of the government of Afghanistan.

1.24. Research Gaps

According to the literature review, the following points have been proposed as research gaps.

1- The literature shows that much research has been done on political system structure, political legitimacy, government history, human rights, security, and other sections. Still, there is no research about state-building in Afghanistan. However, the key question and main research gap are as follows: Has the state-building process in Afghanistan been successful in the last two decades? Hence, this study tries to assess the state-building and institutional-building process to strengthen the state-building process in Afghanistan, focusing on issues and challenges after the post-Taliban based on the Bonn Agreement 2001.

2- In the past two decades, several developments have occurred in Afghanistan regarding challenges and issues of the state-building process. Still, the literature review shows that the authors and the scholars did not profoundly focus on the significant elements and topics, including the challenges of the state-building process in Afghanistan. That arose from the

implementation of the Bonn Agreement 2001, after the fall of the Taliban in the first phase; this study focusses on the issues and challenges there were involved in state-building process that made the state-building process no longer successful despite the support of the international community. Therefore, it motivated me to conduct the current study on Afghanistan's state-building process, particularly from 2005-2015.

1.25. The Chapterzation of Thesis

The present study has been divided into seven chapters, and the content of each chapter is presented briefly.

Chapter I: Introduction

The first chapter provides the conceptual clarification of state-building, nation-building, elements of state-building, theoretical framework, review of related literature, significance of the research statement of the problem, study objectives, research questions, research methodology, research hypothesis, scope of the study limitations, and research gaps.

Chapter II The Political Landscape and Overview of State-building in Afghanistan

This chapter explores the geographical location, the political and social structure of Afghanistan (people, economic, political, and government structure in Afghanistan). It provides a brief overview of the political landscape of Afghanistan post 9/11, 2001, and an overview of State-Building in Afghanistan.

Chapter III State-building in post-Taliban 2001 and Reform of Government Institutions

The chapter will also consider two parts; part one the status and trends of the state-building process in the post-Taliban 2001 era with reference to 2005-2015, and part two This chapter focuses on the reform of government Institutions.

Chapter IV Bonn Agreement and Role of National and International Actors in State-building of Afghanistan

This chapter explores the role of the Bonn agreement in the institutional building of the State-building process in Afghanistan. The chapter also considers the impact of the international community and regional players on the state-building process in Afghanistan**.**

Chapter V The Challenges of State-building

This chapter examines the challenges of implementing the state-building project in Afghanistan between 2005 and 2015.

Chapter VI: Evaluation and Interpretation

This chapter evaluated and interpreted the Accumulated data from the interview questionnaire.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

This chapter will conclude the study. In the conclusion, the study's main findings were discussed and makes some recommendations, suggestions for the future, and the study's contribution to knowledge.

1.26. Findings of the study

This study examined the state-building process in Afghanistan between 2005-2015. The findings reveal that there have been fundamental and complex challenges in the state-building process in Afghanistan from the past up to date, which have prevented the successful implementation of the state-building strategy in Afghanistan since the past and especially the last two decades. This work states that the real challenge was not the models and strategies of state-building but the absence of political will from the Afghan government and the international community in the state-building process between (2005-2015).

In a nutshell, the key findings of the study are as follows:

The study's finding points out that the historical aspects of state-building in Afghanistan are immensely important. At the beginning of the formation of Afghanistan as an independent country, it succeeded to an extent in building political institutions. Yet, the result shows that in the state-building process in Afghanistan in general the contemporary history of Afghanistan, governments have always faced the following challenges and crises of sovereignty, political legitimacy, the rule of law, political and economic dependence, and intervention that caused the failure of the state-building in Afghanistan.

The study found that the most significant factors that made state-building a challenging and complex process in Afghanistan were that state-building was essentially a top-down process, accompanied by uneven cultural foundations, insecurity, illiteracy, religious extremism, political will, lack of national unity, lack of attention to bureaucracy, and moreover ethnic politics complicated the state-building process in Afghanistan.

The study found that the local governance in Afghanistan in the last two decades, with regards to the forming and institutionalising of the state-building process in every political system in Afghanistan, has played a significant role in strengthening, rebuilding, peace-building, and promoting political legitimacy.

The American model of state-building in the country has not been successful. The study's findings show that most people whose opinion was sought through an interview questionnaire believe that the American state-building model was ineffective in Afghanistan. From the study, it became clear that the post-2001 state-building process in Afghanistan was the external (Interventionist) model of state-building, which international actors supported.

The state-building process after the defeat of the Taliban in the first round was started by the Bonn Agreement, and it was a new opportunity in the state-building strategy as far as Afghanistan was concerned. The aim of the Bonn Agreement was state-building and governance based on the Afghanistan constitution. However, over time, the state-building process in Afghanistan acted against it.

Most respondents opined that the constitution of Afghanistan played a negative role in the state-building process after post-Taliban 2001. One of the most specific problems of the constitution was the unclear distinction of political power in the multi-ethnic society of Afghanistan, which created a critical issue and challenge for state-building for the last two decades.

The study found that interview respondents believe that government institutions had an important role in the state-building process after post-Taliban 2001. However, the internal and external organizations (NGOs) became a significant obstacle to implementing programs for government institutions.

From the study, it becomes clear that ethnic and religious prejudices in the division of power in the last two decades have negatively affected the state-building process. Also, in Afghanistan, all political leaders get their political legitimacy from the twin elements of religion and ethnicity, and this shows that historically, in Afghanistan, religion and ethnicity have always been involved in the state-building process.

The Bonn conference turned out to be a good opportunity for state-building in Afghanistan. The study found that the majority of people involved in the interview opined that overall, the Bonn Conference 2001 regarding the state-building process was effective. However, it might be inferred that the problem was its implementation method, which failed the state-building process in Afghanistan after 2001.

The study found that the absence of the Taliban in the first round of the Bonn Conference led to the re-emergence of this group, which challenged the new government formation after 2001. Furthermore, it might be said that if the Taliban had been included in the Bonn process in 2001 it relies, the war would not have continued, and the state-building process would not have created a big issue. Thus, the study shows that the presence and participation of the Taliban in the 2001 Bonn conference could have brought the subsequent rebellions and this 20-year war to zero.

Also, the study found that regarding the positive aspects of the Bonn Agreement, Overall, the people pointed out eight positive elements that would be considered significant and essential in the Bonn Agreement. Also, the Bonn Agreement shows some negative aspects

that failed the state-building in Afghanistan which have been mentioned in the previous chapter.

Research findings show that the international community such as (the U.S., UK, the United Nations, and the World Bank) played an important role in the state-building process in Afghanistan after 2001. So, the role of the international community and its actors was very important. The United States of America and its Western allies played a major role in establishing the central government, establishing, and strengthening the national army forces, helping economic development, and spreading democratic values. Without the financial and technical support of the international community and regional actors, it was not possible to ensure state-building.

The study found that the United Nations has played a positive role in the state-building process after 2001in Afghanistan. The United Nations has been involved in the development of Afghanistan through financial aid, planning, monitoring elections, running human rights institutions, and education to strengthen governance and trust-building among the people. The United Nations also helped Afghanistan gain international legitimacy. The results show that the United Nations failed to monitor use seriously and became the reason for the diminution of the role of the United Nations.

The study found that one of the main important aspects of state-building was the priorities of the international community and the Afghan government on state-building in the past two decades. Unfortunately, the priorities of the international community and the Afghan government were not on the same page concerning two aspects. First, there was no clear definition of the priorities such as (security, election, peace process, budget, and composition of Afghan police and national army) for the state-building process, and second, there was a difference in the Common thought and implementation.

The findings in the present study show that foreign aid increased the gross measure of internal and external corruption. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international companies used most foreign aid for state-building in Afghanistan. People who were interviewed believe that lack of transparency and economic dependence on foreign aid negatively influenced the state-building process.

The findings of this study show that the region's countries and neighbours of Afghanistan throughout history have had a positive or negative role in the political issue. After 2001, the regional countries, such as (Pakistan, Iran, Russia, India, and Turkey) in coordination with the powerful countries, began to support technically and financially the state-building process in Afghanistan and provide financial aid. Each of the regional countries cooperated in

different sectors such as security, reconstruction of Afghanistan's infrastructure, education, health care, and the peace process of the Afghan government.

From the studies, it is evident that the state-building process has been affected in different dimensions, internal and external. Absence or lack of political will, weak leadership, corruption, war, and insecurity comprised the internal factors. The external factors were the intervention of donor countries and lack of transparency in foreign aid, which caused the failure of state-building after 2001.

The study's findings point out that the centralization of power in the government system challenged the state-building process in Afghanistan over two decades. The political history of Afghanistan in the last 100 years has shown that a centralized political system does not have a positive outcome because Afghanistan is coherently a plural society. However, most interviewees believe that the centralized political system is a good model for exercising governance in post-war Afghanistan, provided that the political duties and responsibilities are divided between and among the decision-making levels of the government.

The findings also show that Afghanistan, like other post-war countries, has always faced a crisis of political legitimacy in the last two decades, which has been a challenge to the post-2001 state-building in Afghanistan. It is necessary for the state-building process in a political system to have political legitimacy that is all-inclusive and results from the votes of the people. Post-Bonn state-building in Afghanistan had lost its political legitimacy. Also, the study found that corruption and inefficiency among public servants threaten the state-building process. Administrative corruption and weak governance left a bad path in the state-building process in Afghanistan. Administrative corruption was the biggest obstacle to state-building in Afghanistan because the Afghan government was involved in political and social challenges, and measures to eliminate administrative corruption were not taken.

1.27. Conclusion

In conclusion, the present thesis on state-building in Afghanistan post-2005 explored the complex and multifaceted journey of the country toward building a legitimate government and legitimate institution that created the fundamentals of state-building. The research study also examines the issues and challenges associated with the country's State-building process of 2005-2015. Moreover, the intricate interplay of the Bonn Agreement, Status and Trends of the State-building post-Taliban 2001, and historical, political, and external factors, particularly the role of regional and international actors, in the state-building process in Afghanistan have also been addressed in this study.

The general concept of state-building refers to the political process of reconstruction and creation of new institutions and sustainable development of states, from the earliest creation of statehood up to the current times. The absence of state-building in developing societies poses a big challenge to the international community. State-building gained importance in the political literature as a process of building and repairing powerful and accountable government institutions after the Cold War, especially in the 1970s.

The history of Afghanistan's state-building process in its classical sense began in 1747 during the reign of Ahmad Shah Abdali. that this period can be called a stage of the state-building process in Afghanistan. But many historians consider Abdul Rahman Khan to be the founder of today's Afghanistan, which is true. Although it corresponds to the definition of Afghanistan's borders, the spirit of a country and a nation is beyond geographical boundaries. Abdul Rahman Khan united a collapsed country.

Afghanistan, as a country in the international community, has a long history, experienced different political systems, and models of state-building. That comprises different cultures, languages, and different ethnic groups and tribes. This composition indicates the diversity of Afghanistan’s people. Even though the benefits of this varied until now, due to various factors, state-building has not been successful, and the political history of Afghanistan has been characterized by weak and failed systems. Problems of state-building in Afghanistan were aggravated by the Soviet intervention in 1979, further multiplied by their withdrawal in 1989. Furthermore, the main problem of state-building in Afghanistan is the intervention of foreign countries, especially neighboring countries such as Pakistan and Iran. These countries have posed security threats to Afghanistan for a very long time, and predisposing their intervention within Afghanistan, their interventions have caused three decades of war, several socio-economic problems, and ethnic and political conflicts in Afghanistan.

The study's objective was to evaluate the state-building process in Afghanistan from 2005-2015 with a deep focus on the issues and challenges bedevilling the state-building process in Afghanistan. The Bonn Agreement has been successfully implemented; the agreement legitimized the formation of the new state-building in Afghanistan at different stages. the Bonn Agreement set two simultaneous processes in motion: a state-building process and a peace consolidation process. The state-building process was intended to be the engine for reconstruction, forming long-term security arrangements, and returning to national unity. The Agreement envisioned that state and political institutions, such as constitutional reform and elections, would draw sovereign authority back to the government and people and away from the rule of the gun. From 2005-2015, the Afghan government has taken some important steps,

such as an inclusive political process, institution-building, and infrastructure reconstruction with the support of the international community. Thus, a pluralistic, constitutional, and democratic system was established in Afghanistan.

The study's objective was to evaluate the state-building process in Afghanistan and describe the issues and challenges of why no successful state-building was possible in Afghanistan. Moreover, identified key challenges of ethnicity, religion, centralization of power, lack of structured Institutions, Human resource capacity, geopolitical location, local militia groups, the intervention of countries in the state-building process, war, drug trafficking, lack of security, lack of implementing the Constitutional provisions, lack of domestic financial resources and, dependence on foreign aid, it has been identified as the failure factor responsible for the failure of state building in Afghanistan.

The main objective of the present study was the state-building process in Afghanistan from 2005 to 2015 by examining and focusing on the issues and challenges of the state-building process in Afghanistan. However, evidence highlights that successive Afghan governments failed to implement the state-building process in 2005-2015. Therefore, the current research started with an introduction to the field of state-building, and based on the research objectives, the following topics were studied and evaluated in each chapter; The status and trends of the state-building process in the post-Taliban era, the impacts of the Bonn Agreement, and the role of regional and international players in the State-building and analyze the issues and challenges of the state-building process. The conclusion and findings of the study show that there have been many challenges hindering the state-building process in the last two decades in Afghanistan, which were evaluated in the state-building challenges section. Implicitly, two hypotheses were confirmed out of the three hypotheses that pointed to the challenges that caused the failure of the state-building process in Afghanistan.

The key to developing democracy and prosperity in Afghanistan is building a viable, capable, strong state with a robust economy. In conclusion, the state-building process in Afghanistan is an ongoing endeavor that requires a holistic and context-specific approach. While challenges persist, the resilience and determination of the Afghan people, coupled with the support of the international community, hold the potential to shape a more stable, prosperous, and inclusive future for the nation.

The study has also delved into the various attempts at state-building in Afghanistan, including the efforts to draft a constitution, establish democratic governance structures, and promote development and security. These attempts have showcased both moments of progress

and setbacks, underscoring the complex nature of state-building in a context of limited resources, security threats, and deep-rooted societal divisions.

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